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THEMATIC SYMBOLS IN HEDDA GABLER

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RITICISM of the "naturalistic" plays of Ibsen has been so largely directed towards establishing his stature as psychologist and social iconoclast that his characteristic use of functional imagery in Hedda Gabler has been for the most part neglected. Of course such statements as Gosse's that there is "no species of symbol" in the play have not stood uncorrected. But Jeannette Lee's interpretation of Hedda (committed, by her own admission, to the Gyntian policy of going "roundabout") as "a pistol, deadly, simple, passionless, and straight," is confusing, and Miss Lee's allegorical exegesis, in which the soul of the poet (the manuscript) is destroyed through the combined efforts of animality (Madame Diana) and cold intellect (Hedda), despite the efforts of love (Thea),3 may be regarded as an oversimplification of the ironic world-view to which Ibsen's total achievement bears witness. Auguste Ehrhard more convincingly interpreted Lövborg's book as the future, which Hedda, the demon of destruction, attempts to impede and destroy,4 but Ehrhard's discussion omits consideration of other important symbols. In short, while these studies have indicated another perspective from which Ibsen's artistry may be profitably examined, their effect is to provoke reinvestigation of, rather than to explain satisfactorily, the meaning and function of the symbols.

¹ Edmund Gosse, Ibsen (London, 1907), p. 190.

² The Ibsen Secret: A Key to the Prose Dramas of Henrik Ibsen (New York, 1910), p. 26.

³ Ibid., pp. 73-74, 154-156.

⁴ Henrik Ibsen et le Théatre Contemporain (Paris, 1892), pp. 457-459.

During the course of the play, Ibsen places considerable emphasis upon Thea's hair, upon the manuscript as her "child," and upon General Gabler's pistols, and his treatment of these items suggests that he intended them to have symbolic significance. We shall be concerned in this essay with determining this significance and its effect upon the total meaning of the play. My analysis of the three symbols in their relationship to the theme, the characters, and the action will be based upon several broad assumptions which reflect views of Ibsen's concepts and methods implied or expressed by a number of previous commentators: 1) In Hedda Gabler, Ibsen examines the possibility of attaining freedom and fulfillment in modern society. 2) Hedda is a woman, not a monster; neurotic, but not psychotic. Thus, she may be held accountable for her behavior. But she is spiritually sterile. Her yearning for self-realization through exercise of her natural endowments is in conflict with her enslavement to a narrow standard of conduct. This conflict is complicated by her incomplete understanding of what freedom and fulfillment mean and how they may be achieved. She fails to realize that one must earn his inheritance in order to possess it, and she romanticizes the destructive and sensational aspects of Dionysiac ecstasy without perceiving that its true end is regeneration through sublimation of the ego in a larger unity. 3) Ibsen, as an experienced artist, was aware of the impact of minutiae and the need for integrating these with the general impression to be projected; therefore we may regard his descriptions, his stage directions, and his properties, no less than his dialogue, as means whereby intention and significance are conveved.

While all the other characters in *Hedda Gabler* are implicitly compared to Hedda and serve, in one way or another, to throw light upon her personality, Thea Elvsted is the one with whom she is most obviously contrasted. Furthermore, their contest for the control of Lövborg is the most prominent external conflict in the play. The sterility-fertility antithesis from which central

⁵ All citations are from the translation by Edmund Gosse and William Archer, *The Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen*, ed. by William Archer (13 vols., New York, 1906-1928), Vol. X.

action proceeds is chiefly realized through the opposition of these two. Hedda is pregnant, and Thea is physically barren. But in emotionally repudiating her unborn child, Hedda rejects what Ibsen considered woman's opportunity to advance the march of progress.6 The many other symptoms of her psychic sterility need little enlargement. Unwilling to give or even share herself, she maintains her independence at the price of complete frustration. Ibsen uses Thea, on the other hand, to indicate a way to freedom which Hedda never apprehends. Through her ability to extend herself in comradeship with Lövborg, Thea not only brings about the rebirth of his creative powers, but merges her own best self with his to produce a prophecy of the future, conceivably of the "Third Kingdom," in which Ibsen believed that the ideals of the past would coalesce in a new and more perfect unity.7 Having lost herself to find herself, she almost instinctively breaks with the mores of her culture in order to ensure continuance of function. Despite her palpitating femininity, she is the most truly emancipated person in the play. And it is she who wins at least a limited victory in the end. Although Lövborg has failed her, her fecundity is indefatigable; as Hedda kills herself. Thea is busily preparing to recreate her "child" with Tesman, thereby at once enabling him to realize his own little talents, and weakening even further the tenuous bond which ties him to Hedda.

The contrast outlined above is reinforced by the procreative imagery of the play. The manuscript is Lövborg's and Thea's "child," the idea of progress born of a union between individuals who have freed themselves from the preconceptions of their environment. This manuscript the sterile Hedda throws into the fire at the climax of her vindictive passion. Her impulse to annihilate by burning is directed both toward Thea's "child"

⁶ Cf. Ibsen's speech to the Norwegian Women's Rights League (1898): "It is women who are to solve the social problems. As mothers they are to do it. And only as such can they do it. Here lies a great task for woman" (Speeches and New Letters of Henrik Ibsen, trans. by Arne Kildal [Boston, 1910], p. 66).

⁷ See Emperor and Galilean, passim, and Speeches and New Letters, pp. 56-57.

⁸ Cf. Ibsen's statement: "I firmly believe in the capacity for procreation and development of ideals" (Speeches and New Letters, p. 57).

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and toward Thea's hair and calls attention to the relationship between them. Even without other indications that Ibsen was using hair as a symbol of fertility, such an inference might be made from the words which accompany the destruction of the manuscript: "Now I am burning your child, Thea! Burning it, curly-locks! Your child and Eilert Lövborg's. I am burning—I am burning your child." There is, however, considerable evidence, both before and after this scene, that Thea's hair is a sign of that potency which Hedda envies even while she ridicules and bullies its possessor. Ibsen, of course, had ample precedent for employing hair as a symbol of fertility. Perhaps the best support for the argument that he made a literary adaptation of this well-known, ancient idea in *Hedda Gabler* is a summary of the instances in which the hair is mentioned.

Although Ibsen's unobtrusive description of the hair of each of these women at her initial entrance may seem at the time only a casual stroke in the sketch, it assumes importance in retrospect. Hedda's hair is "not particularly abundant," whereas Thea's is "unusually abundant and wavy." Hedda's strongest impression of Thea is of that abundance; she recalls her as "the girl with the irritating hair, that she was always showing off." Moreover, Thea fearfully recollects Hedda's school-girl reaction to it: "... when we met on the stairs you used always to pull my hair. . . . Yes, and once you said you would burn it off my head." When Thea and Lövborg first meet in the play, Hedda seats herself, significantly, between them; the brief exchange of questions and answers which ensues is notable for its overtones: "Is not she [Thea] lovely to look at?" Lövborg asks. Hedda, lightly stroking Thea's hair, answers, "Only to look at?" Löyborg understands the innuendo, for he replies, "Yes. For we two-she and I-we two are real comrades." Later, when the women are alone, Hedda, now fully informed of the extent to which Thea has realized her generative powers, laments her own meager endowment and renews her threat in its adolescent terms: "Oh, if you could only understand how poor I am, and fate has made you so rich! [Clasps her passionately in her arms.] I think I must burn your hair off after all." Hedda's violent gesture and Thea's almost hysterical reaction ("Let me go! Let me go! I am afraid

of you, Hedda!") indicate the dangerous seriousness of words which otherwise might be mistaken for a joke; the threat prepares us for the burning of the manuscript, which follows in Act III. In the last tense scene of the play Hedda twice handles Thea's hair. The reader's imagination readily constructs the expressions and gestures whereby an actress could show Hedda's true attitude toward the hair which Ibsen directs her to ruffle "gently" and to pass her hands "softly through." The first gesture follows immediately upon an important action—Hedda has just removed the pistol to the inner room. The second accompanies dialogue which for the last time emphasizes Hedda's association of the hair with Thea's fertility and which brings home to Hedda her own predicament:

Hedda [Passes her hands softly through Mrs. Elvsted's hair]. Doesn't it seem strange to you, Thea? Here you are sitting with Tesman—just as you used to sit with Eilert Löyborg?

Mrs. Elvsted. Ah, if I could only inspire your husband in the same way! Hedda. Oh, that will come too—in time.

Tesman, Yes, do you know, Hedda—I really think I begin to feel something of the sort. But won't you go to sit with Brack again?

Hedda. Is there nothing I can do to help you two?

Tesman. No, nothing in the world.

These scenes in which the hair plays a part not only call attention to Hedda's limitations but show her reaction to her partial apprehension of them. In adapting a primitive symbol, Ibsen slightly altered its conventional meaning, substituting psychic for physical potency. Its primitivistic associations nevertheless pervade the fundamental relationships between the two women. The weapons Hedda uses against Thea are her hands and fire. The shock of the climactic scene results chiefly from seeing the savage emerge from behind her veneer of sophistication—the Hedda who feeds the manuscript to the flames is a naked woman engaged in a barbaric act. In contrast, the Hedda who handles her father's pistols is self-consciously cloaked in illusions of her hereditary participation in a chivalric tradition.

The pistols, like many other symbols used by Ibsen, quite obviously are not merely symbols, but have important plot function as well. Moreover, their symbolic significance cannot be reduced to a simple formula, but must be thought of in the light of the complex of associations which they carry as Hedda's legacy from General Gabler. Through Hedda's attitude toward and uses of the pistols, Ibsen constantly reminds us that Hedda "is to be regarded rather as her father's daughter than as her husband's wife." Clearly the pistols are linked with certain values in her background which Hedda cherishes. Complete definition of these values is difficult without a more thorough knowledge of Ibsen's conception of a Norwegian general than the play or contemporary comment on it allows. Perhaps, as Brandes said, nineteenth-century audiences recognized that Hedda's pretensions to dignity and grandeur as a general's daughter were falsely based, "that a Norwegian general is a cavalry officer, who, as a rule, has never smelt powder, and whose pistols are innocent of bloodshed."10 Such a realization, however, by no means nullifies the theoretical attributes and privileges of generalship to which Hedda aspires. Possibly Ibsen intended us to understand that Hedda is a member of a second generation of "ham actors" who betray their proud tradition by their melodramatic posturings. But it is this tradition, however ignoble its carrier, to which the pistols and Hedda (in her own mind) belong, and it is, after all, the general only as glimpsed through his daughter's ambitions and conceptions of worth that is of real importance in the play. These conceptions, as embodied in Hedda's romantic ideal of manhood, may be synthesized from the action and dialogue. The aristocrat possesses, above all, courage and self-control. He expresses himself through direct and independent action, living to capacity and scorning security and public opinion. Danger only piques his appetite, and death with honor is the victory to be plucked from defeat. But the recklessness of this Hotspur is tempered by a disciplined will, by means of which he "beautifully" orders both his own actions and those of others on whom his power is imposed. Such a one uses his pistols with deliberation, with calculated aim. He

⁹ The Correspondence of Henrik Ibsen, trans. & ed. by Mary Morison (London, 1905), p. 435.

¹⁰ Georg Brandes, Henrik Ibsen. Björnstjerne Björnson. Critical Studies (New York, 1899), p. 104.

¹¹ Ehrhard, op. cit., p. 445, uses the term cabotine.

shoots straight—to defend his life or his honor, and to maintain his authority. Pistols, however, have no intrinsic glamor. Of the several possible accourtements of a general, his pistols are those least likely to evoke thoughts of chivalric principles and most likely to recall the menace of the power vested in him. And such power, as *Hedda Gabler* shows us, delivered into the hands of a confused and irresponsible egotist, brings only meaningless destruction to all who come within its range.

The manipulation of the pistols throughout the play is a mockery of their traditional rôle. Except at target practice, Hedda does not even shoot straight until her suicide. Her potential danger is recognized by both men whom she threatens. but both understand (Brack, immediately: Lövborg, in Act II) that her threat is a theatrical gesture, and that she has no real intention of acting directly, in defiance of the conventions which bid her "go roundabout." Her crass dishonesty in her sexual encounters is highlighted by this gun-play. She uses the pistols, to be sure, to ward off or warn off encroachments upon her "honor." This honor, however, is rooted in social expedience rather than in a moral code. Having indirectly encouraged Lövborg by a succession of intimate tête-à-têtes, she poses as an outraged maiden when he makes amorous advances, thereby, as she later hints, thwarting her own emotional needs. Subsequently she sells her body to Tesman as cynically as (and far less honestly than) Madame Diana sells hers, then deliberately participates in the form, if not the substance, of marital infidelity with Brack in order to relieve her boredom. Both Hedda and Brack become aware of the cold ruthlessness of the other and the consequent danger to the loser if the delicate equilibrium of their relationship should be disturbed. But until the end Brack is so complacently convinced that Hedda is his female counterpart that he has no fear she will do more than shoot over his head; even as she lies dead, he can hardly believe that she has resorted to direct action—"People don't do such things."

The part the pistols play in Lövborg's death makes a central contribution to our understanding of the degree to which the ideals they represent are distorted by the clouded perspective from which Hedda views them. She has no real comprehension

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of, nor interest in, the vital creative powers Thea helps Löyborg to realize. Instead, she glorifies his weaknesses, mistaking bravado for courage, the indulgence of physical appetites for god-like participation in "the banquet of life," a flight from reality for a heroic quest for totality of experience. Even more important is the fact that as she inhibits her own instinctive urge for fulfillment, she romanticizes its converse. Thus, having instigated his ruin, she incites Lövborg to commit suicide with her pistol. This radical denial of the will to live she arbitrarily invests with the heroism and beauty one associates with a sacrificial death; Hedda is incapable of making the distinction between an exhibitionistic gesture which inflates the ego, and the tragic death, in which the ego is sublimated in order that the

values of life may be extended and reborn.

Her inability to perceive the difference between melodrama and tragedy accounts for the disparity between Hedda's presumptive view of her own suicide and our evaluation of its significance. Ibsen with diabolical irony arranged a situation which bears close superficial resemblance to the traditional tragic end. Symbolically withdrawing herself from the bourgeois environment into the inner chamber which contains the reliques of her earlier life, Hedda plays a "wild dance" upon her piano and, beneath her father's portrait, shoots herself "beautifully" through the temple with her father's pistol. She dies to vindicate her heritage of independence; with disciplined and direct aim she at last defeats the Boyg, which hitherto she has unsuccessfully attempted to circumvent. So Hedda would see her death, we are led to believe, could she be both principal and spectator; and no doubt she would find high-sounding phrases with which to memorialize it. But of course it is Brack and Tesman who have the curtain lines, and these lines show how little of her intent Hedda has conveyed to her world. And we, having the opportunity to judge the act with relation to its full context, may properly interpret it as the final self-dramatization of the consistently sterile protagonist. Hedda gains no insight; her death affirms nothing of importance. She never understands why, at her touch, everything becomes "ludicrous and mean." She dies to escape a sordid situation that is largely of her own

making; she will not face reality nor assume responsibility for the consequences of her acts. The pistols, having descended to a coward and a cheat, bring only death without honor.

It would appear, then, that the symbols, while they do not carry the whole thematic burden of Hedda Gabler, illuminate the meaning of the characters and the action with which they are associated. As Eric Bentley has suggested, the characters, like those in the other plays of Ibsen's last period, are the living dead who dwell in a waste-land that resembles T. S. Eliot's. And, like Eliot later, Ibsen emphasized the aridity of the present by contrasting it with the heroic past. 12 Indeed, Hedda Gabler may be thought of as a mock-tragedy, a sardonically contrived travesty of tragic action, which Ibsen shows us is no longer possible in the world of the play. This world is sick with a disease less curable than that of Oedipus' Thebes or Hamlet's Denmark. For its hereditary leaders are shrunken in stature, maimed and paralyzed by their enslavement to the ideals of the dominant middle-class. With the other hollow men, they despise but nonetheless worship the false gods of respectability and security. paying only lip-service to their ancestral principles. Such geniuses as this society produces are, when left to themselves, too weak to do more than batter their own heads against constricting barriers. They dissipate their talents and so fail in their mission as prophets and disseminators of western culture; its interpretation is left to the unimaginative pedant, picking over the dry bones of the past. Women, the natural seminal vesicles of that culture, the mothers of the future, are those most cruelly inhibited by the sterilizing atmosphere of their environment. At one extreme is Aunt Julia, the genteel spinster, over-compensating for her starved emotions with obsessive self-dedication. At the other is Diana, the harlot. Even Thea, the progenitive spirit, the girl with the abundant hair, is a frail and colorless repository for the seeds of generation. Her break with convention when it threatens her maternity is shown to be the one mode of escape from the fate that overtakes the others. But Ibsen gives her triumph, too, a ludicrous twist. Hardly having begun the mourn-

¹² The Playwright as Thinker (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946), p. 59.

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ing song for her Adonis, she brings forth her embryonic offspring from her pocket and proceeds to mould it into shape with the aid of a Tesman-an echo of the classic death and rebirth, to be sure, but one not likely to produce the glorious Third Kingdom of which Ibsen dreamed. And appropriately holding the center of the stage throughout is Hedda, in whom the shadows of the past still struggle in a losing battle with the sterile spectre of the present. Her pistols are engraved with insignia which the others understand not at all and which she only dimly comprehends. Her colossal egotism, her lack of self-knowledge, her cowardice, render her search for fulfillment but a succession of futile blunders which culminate in the supreme futility of death. Like Peer Gynt, she is fit only for the ladle of the button-moulder: she fails to realize a capacity either for great good or for great evil. Her mirror-image wears the mask of tragedy, but Ibsen makes certain that we see the horns and pointed ears of the satvr protruding from behind it.

GEORG BRANDES' VIEWS ON AMERICAN LITERATURE

Swen A. Larsen

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"T HAVE done very little. I have written some books [33volumes of criticism] and just now I am feeling that I have discovered America. Of course, I know that America was discovered centuries ago, but I have not discovered America yet, its art and its intellectual culture. When I have discovered it, I shall tell of my discoveries to my countrymen and to my readers elsewhere just as I have told them what I have discovered in the thought and letters of other lands." Such were the words of Dr. Georg Brandes at a luncheon tendered him by the Cliff Dwellers Club of Chicago in May 1914. For several decades the literary world had stood in awe of this great scholar as he described and in part guided The Main Currents of Nineteenth Century European Literature; such was the title of his magnum opus. In this series of studies he said little about American writers or their literature. Unfortunately for us, death was to overtake him before he could fulfill this promise that he made in Chicago.

The life of Georg Brandes was a long and arduous struggle against the forces of ignorance and bigotry. He was first and foremost the agitator, the fiery soul whose great task in life was to awaken people intellectually. The series of lectures that formed the basis for his greatest work of criticism was nothing less than a declaration of war against the existing state of things. His pen proved a formidable weapon. As a young man, he had been denied a coveted professorship in the University of Copenhagen but this served only as an incentive to goad him to greater heights on that rugged road that leads to Parnassus. He chose as his realm not only the literature of his native Denmark but that of all Europe-from Russia to Spain and from England to Italy. Nor did he limit himself to the current century; his study of William Shakespeare is one of the most fruitful and provocative books dealing with the immortal dramatist. Here we see Brandes at his best—a painter of literary portraits. This

¹ The Chicago Record-Herald, III (Sunday, May 24, 1914).

is a work of literary psychology, written in the spirit of Nietzsche.

When Georg Brandes decided to favor the United States with a long-awaited visit in 1914, there was a bustle of excitement in literary circles throughout the land. Clubs began vying for the honor of his presence at luncheons, lectures, and banquets. What was originally planned as a quiet trip to New York and New Haven developed into a triumphal tour that was to extend as far west as Minneapolis. One Chicago newspaper carried this announcement:

Dr. Georg Brandes, Danish literary critic, will reach Chicago today, accompanied by C. A. Quist of the Danish-American Association. A reception will be held for him at the Congress hotel at 11:30 A.M. At noon Dr. Brandes will be given a luncheon at the Cliff Dwellers Club. In the afternoon he will speak on Shakespeare at Orchestra Hall. Danish singing societies will serenade Dr. Brandes at his hotel tomorrow morning. He will lecture on Napoleon at Orchestra Hall in the afternoon, and will be the guest at a banquet in the evening at the Auditorium hotel. After going to Milwaukee and Minneapolis, he will return on Wednesday to lecture before the Twentieth Century Club.² This was the pattern of his two weeks in America.

After Brandes returned to Denmark, he spoke of the near-riot created by the thousands who could not gain admittance to the New York theater in which he gave his last lecture. In our naive attempt to absorb as much as possible from this literary genius, we lost sight of the invaluable lesson that he could have given us. From the moment his ship entered New York harbor, long before it reached the dock, he was plagued by reporters asking this question: "What impression does the professor have of America?" He, like Dickens and De Tocqueville, answered this query when he reached the shores of his homeland. In his quiet study at Østerbro he wrote: "My impression of America? 80,000 idiotic reporters. . . . These reporters tormented me to such an extent every day that I at last was completely overwhelmed, exhausted, and sick. I thought it possible to live in peace over there; impossible!"3 The following day, June 22, 1914, this same journal printed Brandes' analysis of America in which he damned with faint praise both our society and our culture. He said that our constant search for an authoritative impression of America was a mark of the uncertainty in which

The Chicago Daily Tribune, LXXIII, No. 122 (Saturday, May 23, 1914).
 Politiken (Copenhagen, June 21, 1914).

our society was still laboring. We lacked self-reliance. It seemed to him that the average American did not have the least conception of how necessary solitude was in the formulation of impressions. Americans also failed to recognize that "seven hundred telephone calls a day can chase all mental capacity away." He drew an analogy between the United States and Italy of the Renaissance. They were alike in that they both began as flourishing commercial centers, and Brandes foresaw a cultural flowering for the United States not unlike that of Florence and Venice. America, according to Brandes, was a vast market place in which works of art were quickly transformed into pieces of market goods. Here the publishers dominated the literature and the businessmen the theater. This, said he, was hardly the place where the fragile sprouts of art could flourish—"this cockpit of shaved barbarians."

When Georg Brandes arrived in New York, he was hailed as "the most distinguished representative of European letters that was ever entertained by this country. Of what may be called creative criticism, Dr. Brandes is the best example of our time."4 It is our loss that he never came to know our literature well enough to be able to treat it in the same scholarly fashion as he dealt with that of Europe. The only statements that he left for posterity concerning our literature were those garnered by our ever-present reporters. These impressions are worth examining from the standpoint of their interest, if not for their validity. It is well, however, to preface such an examination with a word of warning. As that able editor and scholar, Henry Goddard Leach, once pointed out to this writer, many of our books that we consider masterpieces are never translated into the Scandinavian languages and for that reason do not enjoy a wide reading. Since Scandinavia has always had sufficient writers of merit who could produce books of a meditative caliber, they have turned to us for those books which they consider typically American; books filled with action and that deal with modes of life not common to Northern Europe.

Professor Brandes was fond of the works of Thomas Paine, in fact, he thought that Paine was one of our greatest writers. "Tom Paine was a heretic and so am I, which is one of the rea-

⁴ The Dial, LVI, No. 671, 447 (June 1, 1914).

sons why I like his works."5 To him, Poe was the most capable as well as the most influential of our poets. He pointed out the fact that two great French poets, Paul Bourget and Pierre Loti, were disciples of Poe. Brandes was misquoted by one New York reporter as having said that London was our best contemporary writer of fiction. "Imagine that I should say that Jack London is the best of living writers. I said that he had many admirable qualities."6 A staff writer for one Chicago newspaper quipped, with wry humor: "Dr. Brandes says that he regards Jack London as our greatest contemporary author; but that may be a misprint for 'drinker!' " He was also partial to Frank Norris. Robert Herrick, and Upton Sinclair. The last named of these men he came to know personally, and he admired him both for his writings and for his social beliefs. Longfellow won a high place in the hearts of the Danish people through his excellent translation of their national anthem. Another American whom Brandes admired was Henry James. He read The American while making the voyage from Denmark aboard the Vaterland. Perhaps the gem of all of his statements pertaining to our belles lettres was printed in "The Independent." It follows in part:

Your literature, ah, I have no hope! Your books are written by old maids for old maids. . . .

Ah, if your men who write only had the courage, the daring of those who fashion your buildings, or make your automobiles, or fly your aeroplanes; then you might have a literature. . . . But you are afraid. They are drawing-room authors, they are afraid of 'shocking people.' Like the English with the Suffragets, they are afraid of sex.

I am proud that I haven't a drop of democratic blood in my veins.

You speak of American literature. Literature is no longer national, as typifying a race; it is now only a matter of the language in which it is printed. When I pick up a book, I no longer notice whether it is published in New York or London, in Vienna or Berlin. It is sufficient if it is English or German. There are no longer any pure racial stocks. What we call France, for example, is made up of more than a hundred racial stocks; its very name comes from a German tribe. Your literature will always remain English, despite the immigration of other races. You crush them into your life, they are unable to escape. . . .

You have one author whose work I admire, I count Henry James almost a personal friend. His *The American* typifies best to me your breaking of the caste

⁵ New York Times, LXIII, No. 20, 572 (Friday, May 22, 1914).

⁶ Ibid., pp. 581 (Sunday, May 31, 1914).

⁷ The Chicago Daily Tribune, LXXIII, No. 122 (Saturday, May 23, 1914).

tradition of Europe. . . . But with James, as with all your American and English writers, I am always conscious of the reserve of the writer. He does not present life frankly to us. He leaves out, veils, or at best only suggests the one real problem of life—sex. I do not mean sex in the physical sense, but as it relates to the conflict between man and woman. Ibsen [whom Brandes introduced to the world] was the first to understand the psychology of this conflict. There are things about Walt Whitman I admire, but I shrink from him, his personal habits offend me. That is not the kind of sex I mean.

Why must you defer to those 'old women' of Europe? Everywhere in America I am asked anxiously concerning the growth of your intellectual life. Is it not greater to invent, to build, to break the traditions of the past than to quibble on philosophical points? I understand that you admire Eucken and Bergson in this country. For me they do not exist. Do they preach anything new? They raise one finger and say you must not do this, you must not do that, "that is moral, that is immoral." You have no such philosophers, you keep them in the churches where they belong!

... But I think I understand. They are dignified men, these philosophers; they have grey beards, they are noble men. Is it not their nobility you admire?8

Thus spake the great champion of realism. Since the time when he published his doctoral dissertation on Hippolyte Taine in 1870 he had been a prime mover in the trend in Scandinavia away from romanticism toward realism. By 1880, the drift was in the direction of naturalism, which was best expressed in the novels of the day; novels by Henrik Pontoppidan, the Danish Dreiser; and by Herman Bang, whose craving for merciless truth inspired his Zola-like Tine. These were genuine naturalistic works and in them Georg Brandes saw the culmination of his theories. In Norway, realism was even more coarse, brutal, and unadorned. In Sweden, Strindberg was the naturalistic prototype. When Brandes arrived here before World War I, he was shocked to learn that Americans, who set the pace in so many endeavors, were badly outdistanced by the Europeans in the race toward stark realism in literature. He never knew Stephen Crane; Eugene O'Neill was a fledgling, Dreiser was gathering material. We were some forty years short of the literary developments in Denmark. This cultural lag was attributed by Brandes -rightly or wrongly-to our immature uncertainty, our lust for material things, our lack of artistic refinement, and our democratic way of life.

⁸ The Independent, Vol. 78, pp. 484 ff. (June 15, 1914).

NOTES ON TWO EDDIC PASSAGES: HELREI'S BRYNHILDAR, STANZA 14, AND BALDRS DRAUMAR, STANZA 12

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I

Helreid Brynhildar, Stanza 14

SMALL literature exists on the significance, legendary development, and relative chronology of this poem.1 While it is undoubtably true that the author was a Motivsammler2 or, as Finnur Jónsson3 more harshly puts it, the poem is "et sammensurium af sagn og forestillinger," it would seem to me that none of the commentators and critics take into sufficient account the exceeding and accumulated bitterness of Brynhild's self-justification, provoked by the accusations which the gygr (giantess)4 hurls at her: after brushing off her interlocutrix as not her equal. Brynhild points out to her that from the beginning her own life had been one of tragic disappointments. Deprived of her rightful (divine?) parents, she was forced (against her will?) to aid young Agnar in his fight against old Hialmgunnar and was enclosed by Othin within the vafrlogi for her disobedience. Worst of all, she was delivered from her sleep within the wall of flames by Sigurth in the guise of Gunnar -for only so can the eight nights' chaste cohabitation with Sigurth make any sense—and was thus, as she finds to her dismay, cheated forever out of union with her proper mate and deprived of all life's happiness. Consequently, when Sigurth at

¹ Cf. Sijmons-Gering, Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda, Vol. II, p. 279. Nothing of note on the subject has appeared since.

² Neckel, Beiträge zur Eddaforschung, p. 98.

⁸ Aarbøger (1921), p. 70. Golther (Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte

^{[1889],} p. 474) declares it to be "zufällig zusammengeleimt."

⁴ To call her, as does Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. V, p. 387) a personification of her own (Brynhild's) conscience sounds *geistreich* but is absurd, as is likewise his identification of the *gggr* with Hel as well as his surmise that Sigurth is really not *4 helveg* but rather on the road to Valholl.

her own instigation is murdered, in utter frustration and desolation of spirit, yet also defiantly, she mounts the pyre to end her own wasted life together with her hero.

Here, we are bound to ask: To be at least in death united with him whether in heaven or in Hel? Or to make an end of it all, to seek annihilation?

Without trying to apply logic to a legendary tale, our conclusion entirely depends on the interpretation of the last (14th) stanza. Like all the elegiac monologues of the Edda, this stanza seems to betray an utterly pessimistic view of life:

Munu við ofstrið allz til lengi konor ok karlar kvikvir fæðaz. Vit skolom okkrom aldri slíta, Sigurðr, samanl Søkkstu, g9giarkyn1⁵

Disregarding minor difficulties, the import of the first two lines is clear and undebatable: "Women and men are born to the world for all too great sorrow." The discussion has centered on the proper translation of the next lines. Vit skolom okkrom aldri slita certainly cannot mean "we shall die together." For one thing, murdered Sigurth's body has been consumed on the pyre; and Brynhild has immolated herself and is now a helveg through the subterranean domain of her interlocutrix. For another, aldri slita, as practically all scholars are now agreed, does not mean 'to die': cf. Fjolsvinnsmøl 50, 3-4, where Mengloð, after long biding for her hero, jubilantly exclaims:

nú er þat satt, at vit slíta skolom ævi ok aldri saman.

("Of a truth I know: we two shall live aye our lot and life together"); cf. also the skald Hallfred's stanza (28, 5-8), spoken at the point of death:

⁵ Eddic passages are quoted after Neckel's edition, the stanza from Hallfred after E. A. Kock's *Skaldediktningen*.

⁶ Irrespective of whether we put the stress on 'together' or on 'we' (as does Edzardi, Germania, Vol. XXIII, p. 416). This excellent scholar also tried to discredit the evidence of Hallfred's expression (see my text, below) as being inconclusive and urged that skolo here carries the meaning of 'to be destined,' i.e., 'to be united with Sigurth in death.' But Hallfred's dying statement that God will assign him his place in the life to come, whether in heaven or in hell, is as clear as it could possibly be. Also, the meaning assigned by Edzardi to skolo is not borne out by other instances.

Veitk, at vetki s9tik, (valdi goö, hvar aldri) —dauör verör hverr—nema hræöumk helviti (skal slita!).

which I render: "I am nowise afraid—every one shall die—except that I fear hellpain: may God ordain where I shall pass my life (i.e., whether in heaven or hell)."

But if we accept the meaning of the *Helrei* passage to be: "We two, Sigurth, shall live our lives together," we are immediately confronted with the question—infinitely prosy though it be—as to where that happy consummation is to take place. In grey Hel? When lesser kings and heroes are conducted to Othin's Valholl by the valkyries? Yet Hel-ward is where Brynhild is bound. However, nowhere in Norse antiquity is there countenance given to the sentimental notion that lovers were united in Hel; and the poem is stark heathen in sentiment, whatever its age. On the other hand, a Christian heaven for such characters as Sigurth and Brynhild is too absurd to entertain for a moment.

We are thus brought to an impasse to escape from which a textual emendation, even of a radical nature, is defensible.

I suggest that instead of skolom we read skyldim and translate: "We two, Sigurth and I, should have lived together." The implication is: "In this miserable world people drag out a sorrowful existence: we two, clearly destined for each other, should have been united. It was not to be. But I, having suffered, I choose to die with Sigurth after having avenged myself on him I loved best."

Conservatism, respect for the MS tradition, may go too far. Codex Regius, to which we owe the knowledge of by far the most of the imperishable Eddic poems, is, to be sure, an excellent

⁷ As R. Keyser (Efterladte Skrifter, Vol. I, p. 205) assumes: "Nu skal hun og Sigurd—siger hun—forenes (i Hels Rige)." Similarly, De Vries (Altnordische Literaturgeschichte, Vol. II, p. 154), who compares Guörünarhvot 19: Minnztü, Sigurör, hvat vit maltom . . . at pü myndir min, mööugr! viita, halr! ör helio, en ek pin ör heimi? However, to visit one ör helio, ör heimi or, as Helgi does (Helgakviöa Hundingsbana II, stanza 50), fra solom Ööins, is, after all, different from being united in one place with the person beloved.

manuscript. Still, it is far from impeccable. In our own poem, short as it is, there is at least one indubitable scribal error, viz., st.11 reið', i.e., reiðr, for reið (reið góðr Grana). And stanzas 6 and 7 unquestionably must be interchanged. Or take, instar omnium, Lokasenna, a poem preserved only in Regius and, on the whole, in very good shape, and we encounter demonstrable mistakes, emendations for which are accepted by all: in 19, 6 fjergvall (for fjerg ql); 24, 1 siga (for síða); 7a 32, 5 síðo (for síððo); 53, 6 vammalausom (for vammalausa); and 58, 1 lacks the indispensable word burr.

As to the past subjunctive form suggested, it is a fact well known, though frequently overlooked even by competent translators, that it often has perfective function. I cite the following Eddic passages as showing the frequency of this usage:

Hrbl. 18: Sparkar átto vér konor, ef oss at spokom yrði; horskar átto vér konor, ef oss hollar væri;

which Genzmer⁹ correctly translates: "wären sie . . . geworden —wären sie . . . geblieben."

Hrbl. 50: langt myndir þú nú kominn, þórr, ef þú litom færir.

Genzmer: "Weit wärest du schon gekommen, wandeltest¹⁰ du die Gestalt." I.e., "if you had changed, etc."

Ls. 22, 23: opt þú gaft þeim er þú gefa skyldira.

Genzmer: "dem du nicht geben solltest." But rather: "to whom you should not have given."

Vkv. 22: Segiða meyjom né salþióðom, manni øngom, at it mik fyndið!

^{7a} The recent attempt by Frederic T. Wood in Scandinavian Studies (Vol. XXII [1950], pp. 115-17) to rescue sign has failed to convince me.

⁸ Nygaard, Eddasprogets Syntax, I, §§4, 6; Heusler, Altisländisches Elementarbuch³, §417, Anm.

9 Die Edda3 (1941).

¹⁰ It is to be remembered that in German "the past indicative sometimes takes the place of both the past and past perfect subjunctive, either in the main or subordinate clause, to add more assurance and certainty to the tone of the assertion" (Curme, A Grammar of the German Language², §169, note 2).

Genzmer (clearly wrong): "dass ihr zu mir geht." Should be: "that you have visited me."

HHv. 39: bott betta sinn borfgi væri.

Genzmer: "Verdient auch dies der Degen nicht." Better: "though that had not been called for."

Grp. 47: Mun hon Gunnari gørva segia, at þú eigi vel eiðom þyrmðir.

Genzmer: "Du habest nicht wohl bewährt den Eid."

Grp. 5: þiggöu hér, Sigurör! Væri sæmra fyrr!

Genzmer: "Eher war besser." I.e., "it would have been better fitting earlier."

Fm. 8: Eigi em ek haptr bott ek væra hernumi.11

"I am not captive, though I have (or had) been a prisoner of war."

Fm. 26: Fé ok fiqrvi réői sá inn fráni ormr, nema þú frýðir mér hvats hugar.

Genzmer: "Gut und Blut hätte der gleissende Wurm, warfst du mir Feigheit nicht vor." I.e., "if you had not, etc."

> Fm. 29: Lengi liggia létir þú þann lyngvi í, inn aldna jotun, ef þú sverz né nýtir—

Genzmer: "Liegen liessest du . . . wenn der Schmied dir nicht half." I.e., "You would have left . . . if you had not had use, etc."

Sg. 37: þat myndi þá þjóðkunt vera-

Genzmer: "Geworden wäre das weltbekannt-."

Hlr. 3: Bregöu eigi mêr, brûör ôr steini, bôtt ek værak t vikingo.

Genzmer: "dass ich weiland war auf Vikingfahrt." I.e., "that I had been, etc."

¹¹ Genzmer translates with a present: "Bin kein Knecht, ob auch kriegsgefangen." But in the preceding stanza Fáfnir says: nú er þú haptr ok hernuminn, "now you are in fetters and a prisoner of war." To which Sigurth replies as above, adding: þú fannt at ek lauss lifi, "you found out that (now) I am free."

Hlr. 12: Svófo vit ok unőom t sæing einni, sem hann minn bróðir um borinn væri.

"as if he had been born, etc." The last line of Od. 11 is practically identical.

Od. 20: En ek Gunnari gatk at unna, bauga deili, sem Brynhildr skyldi.

Genzmer: "wie Brynhild sollte." Much better: "as Brynhild should have done."

Od. 25: ok þeir kvómo þar er þeir koma né skyldot.

Genzmer: "da sie nicht kommen sollten." The connection shows clearly that we should translate: "where they should not have come."

Am. 7 (and 74): sýn var svipvísi ef þeir sín gæði.

Genzmer: "wenn sie Vorsicht übten." I.e., "if they had used foresight."

Am. 85: snýtt hefir bû sifiungom sem bû sîzt skyldir.

Genzmer: "hast vernichtet die Söhne, was du nimmer solltest." I.e., "as you should never have done." Similar perfective meaning of the past subjunctive form is seen in Am. 97, 101, 103 and, probably, in Hm. 27.

II

Baldrs Draumar, Stanza 12-A Reconsideration

The short poem now generally called Baldrs Draumar, handed down to us only in one MS, occupies a curious position in the corpus of Eddic poems. Neither its language nor its versification allows of even an approximate dating relative to any other Eddic poem. Its style and contents likewise are noncommittal. As a result, some scholars—the great majority—hold it to be a late imitation of Prymskviþa; at least one considers it to be older than Prymskviþa, in fact, possibly having suggested the composition of the majestic Voluspo itself.¹²

Considered by itself, the poem (assuming that we possess it

¹² LeRoy Andrews, MLN, Vol. 26 (1911), p. 46 f.—For bibliography, cf. Gering (Sijmons), Kommentar, Vol. I, p. 339.

in its entirety) appears too well knit to allow any assumption of not being handed down as it was composed—with one exception, stanza 12.

Let us briefly recapitulate the contents stanza by stanza: 1. The gods assemble and discuss why ill-boding dreams have come to Baldr. 2. Othin starts up, and on Sleipnir rides down to Niffhel; where he encounters the hell-hound (3) with bloody breast (contesting his progress), but he rides on till he comes to Hel's abode. 4. He goes to the eastern gate, where he knows the vala's (wise-woman's) grave to be, and with his valgaldr (magic chant to awake the dead) raises the unwilling one. 5. She demands to know who it is that has awakened her from the dead. 6. Othin gives his name as Vegtam. He asks who is expected as a new guest in Hel. 7. The vala: it is Baldr. 8. Othin: who will slay him? 9. The vala: Hoth will do the deed. 10. Othin: and who is to avenge Baldr? 11. The vala: Váli: he will neither wash his hands nor comb his hair till Baldr's slayer is borne to the pyre. 12. Othin: who are the weeping maidens who cast their neckerchiefs to the skies? 13. The vala: "Thou art not Vegtam but Óthin." Óthin: "And thou, not a vala or wise woman but the mother of three thurses." 14. The vala: "Ride home and boast. Let no man come to visit me, (until) Loki is loose and the destroyers come in Ragnarok."13

It will be observed (though I cannot recall seeing it stated) that there is not a single mythological datum in the poem which does not occur in other Eddic poems, and there in more organic connection. Even so, this does not evince artistic inferiority, whatever may be true of the value of the poem as a primary source. To my sense, it is admirably composed and firmly knit—barring, again, stanza 12 with the —in this connection—trivial and irrelevant question which is to open the eyes of the vala as to the true identity of her interlocutor and ends the question-answer series in a weak fashion; whereas in the other quasi-didactic poems, Vafprudnismol, Alvissmol, Heidreksgatur, even Svipdagsmol, the climactic question actually reveals the identity of the questioner. However, the climax occurs in stanza 11—corresponding to the final question in Vafprudnismol:

¹³ The meaning of the last lines is not certain.

54. hvat mælti Óðinn, áðr á bál stigi sjálfr í eyra syni?

and Heidreksgatur:

hvat mælti Öðinn í eyra Baldri, áðr hann væri á bál hafðr?

In chapter 48 of Gylfaginning we are told that when Baldr had entered Hel, Hermód, mounted on Sleipnir, rode to the abode of Hel to inquire of her on what condition Baldr could be returned to the gods. He receives the answer that ef allir hlutir theiminum, kykvir ok dauðir, gráta hann, þá skal hann fara til ása aþtr, en haldask með Helju, ef nokkur mælir við eða vill eigi gráta. Both rhythm and alliteration in the passage would seem to indicate that here, as well as in other details of the story, Snorri based his narrative on some lay—the same, evidently, which contained the famous stanza, spoken by a giantess (or Loki):

bokk mun gráta þurrum torum Baldrs bálfarar; kviks ne dauös nautka ek karls sonar: haldi Hel, því er hefir.

Is it too far-fetched to assume that among "all things in the world, quick or dead," are also the waves, Rán's daughters? Though cold and cruel to all others, even they sorrow and weep for Baldr. 14 I take it that there is some reflection of this in the phrasing of one of the *Heiöreksgátur*: 15

Hveriar eru þær snotir er ganga margar syrgjandi at forvitni foður; morgum monnum hafa þær at meini orðit, við þat muno þær sínu aldr ala?

answer: pat eru eöles (i.e. [Ægis]16) brúðir er svó heita. If such is the case, it is reasonable to assume that some interpolator,

¹⁴ Though, to be sure, Gering's statement, *loc. cit.*, p. 344: "diese sollen in Tränen zerfliessen, während sie das Schiff Hringhorne... emporschleudern, etc.," is strictly from his own vintage.

¹⁶ No. 59 in Helgason's edition, p. 74.

¹⁶ According to Bugge's convincing emendation.

knowing these riddles, ending nota bene with the same insoluble question put by Othin both to Vafthruthnir and to Heithrek, was tempted to insert the substance of one of the latter series, but couched in the smooth fornyrpislag meter of our poem—most inaptly, to be sure.

In the debatable stanza itself the phrase at muni grata has caused some difficulty. Thus, Gering¹⁷ takes muni to be dative singular of munr and translates "nach Herzenslust." In this he has the ample support of numerous Eddic passages with at plus the dative—to be sure, only the dative plural—of munr in the sense of 'passionate desire, longing'; e.g., Skm. 4: alfrodull lysir of alla daga, ok bevgi at minum munum; ibid. 20; epli ellifu ek bigg aldregi at manzkis munum; ibid. 26: ek bik temja mun, mær, at minom munum; ibid. 35: øðri drykkju få þú aldregi, mær, at binum munum; Od. 32: madr hverr lifir at munum sinum; Grog. 15: standit ber mein fyr munum. For the singular, there is the unique example of bulur, IV, h 3: grata at Óði. Finnur Jónsson, 18 however, and Neckel¹⁹ construe at here as the preposition with the accusative and derived from Runic aft (Goth. afta). "At muni grata scheint zu bedeuten 'ihren wünschen nachweinen' [muni acc. plur.]; also: 'ihre [sic] toten geliebten beweinen,' und dies muss sich auf Balders tod und leichenzug übers Meer beziehen." He adduces: Hov. 72, 6: bautasteina erected by nior at nio; Hrbl. 14, 4: at Hrungni daudan, etc. But it is hard to see, in either of these interpretations, why there should be the suggestion of Rán's daughters weeping either in great sorrow or for their darling. They love no one, and if they consent to weep, it is evidently only on account of the conditions laid down by Hel.

Still a third way of looking at the passage is open, notwithstanding these fairly—but only fairly—satisfactory interpretations, viz., to assume the stress in line 7 to lie on the adverbial particle at and to take muni as the third person plural subjunctive present of munu;²⁰ which would yield the meaning 'who are

¹⁷ Wörterbuch, p. 703, 4.

¹⁸ Lexicon Poeticum³, p. 413, 2 munr 4.

¹⁹ Glossar2, p. 122 (cf. 2 at).

²⁰ Noreen's statement (Aisl. Gram.⁴, §535, Anm. 2) about the absence of umlaut is slightly misleading: there exist in the poetic language a number of unumlauted present subjunctives of munu.

the maidens who would weep about this,' i.e., about the tragedy of Baldr's death and its portent for the æsir. In that case, an emendation of line 5 would be required to furnish a corresponding vocalic alliteration. This I would find in ekkjur (for meyjar), in agreement with the last riddle (61) in the series propounded by Gestumblindi to King Heithrek: Hverar eru þær ekkjur, er ganga allar saman, etc., following stanzas having parallel contents with brûðir (53), leikur (58), snotir (59), meyjar (60). If this seems a violent emendation, it is to be borne in mind that it is not the only one required for this short poem. Thus in stanza 1, Baldri is a necessary emendation for Baldrs; and in stanza 11, it is extremely likely that for the sake of alliteration, i vestrsqlum has been substituted for i fensqlum or for the mythologically more correct i austrsqlum. Also, the second line of this stanza is almost certainly an interpolation.

²¹ Cf. Neckel, op. cit., p. 61.

²² Ibid., p. 60.

REVIEWS

Islendinga sögur, Vols. I-XII, and Islendinga sögur, Nafnaskrá. Guðni Jónsson bjó til prentunar. Reykjavík, Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1946-1947 and 1949.

This edition of Islendinga sögur can, as claimed in the general introduction, be looked upon as the first complete edition of these sagas, in view of the fact that it includes several sagas and minor tales here printed for the first time. In all, the edition contains 127 sagas and minor tales; 33 of these were not included in the popular edition of Sigurður Kristjánsson and 8 have never been printed before.

Primarily intended for the general reader, the edition is. nevertheless, thoroughly scholarly and based on the best texts available. This is not surprising to anyone who knows the background and previous accomplishments of the Editor, Mag. Art. Guðni Jónsson, who brings to his task wide experience in both scientific and popular editorial work in this field as well as mature scholarship. He is one of the editors of the definitive edition of the sagas now in process in the notable series Islenzk fornrit.

In his general introduction Guoni Jonsson deals succinctly with such pertinent matters as the period when the events recorded in the Icelandic Family Sagas took place, the time of their writing, what is known about their authors and their method of work, the historical value of the sagas, the verses and poems contained in the sagas, their preservation, and sagas which have been lost.

Each one of the 12 volumes making up the edition is also furnished with a concise introduction, dealing briefly with the central theme of the sagas concerned, the question of authorship, time of writing, manuscripts, and principal editions, all of which constitutes salient information to any interested reader, lay and learned alike.

Within each volume, sagas with the same locality as their setting have been grouped together, with the principal sagas in question given the place of honor; some attention has also been paid to the contents of the sagas. This general arrangement in the matter of classification is both logical and practical, making, for one thing, the relationship between sagas from the same part of the country clearer than otherwise would have been the case.

Explanations of the intricate verses and poems frequently occurring in the sagas have been handled in a somewhat new and, in the opinion of this reviewer, happy fashion. In footnotes the individual verses are first arranged in the natural sequence of prose and then interpreted or retold in present-day Icelandic. Appropriate chapter headings have been added, as has paragraphing in the text, which tends to make the story both more readable and vivid.

A special and highly valuable feature of the edition is the complete index of names from all the sagas, which constitutes the concluding volume compiled by Guồni Jónsson. Here are not only first names of persons in alphabetic order, but also paternal names, place names, names of nations and families, objects, animals, and institutions. Obviously, such an index is not only highly advantageous to the general reader, but altogether indispensable to all scholars in the field.

The edition is attractive both with respect to printing and general appearance. It fully deserves a place in any college or university library as well as in the private collection of interested individuals.

RICHARD BECK The University of North Dakota

Collinder, Björn. The Lapps. Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1949. Pp. 252. Illustrated. \$3.75.

Ever since the Greek explorer Pytheas of Marseilles visited Thule (Norway) in the fourth century B.C., the civilized world, as this volume reveals, has been interested in the nomads of the Scandinavian and the neighboring Finnish and Russian North. Scholars and travelers from many lands, followed by the modern tourists, have with varying enthusiasm and accuracy recorded their observations of Lapland and their experiences among its people. Tacitus called the latter Fenni; Procopios of

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the middle of the sixth century referred to them as Skrithifenoi (i.e., "ski-running Lapps"), the "only really savage" inhabitants in the country of Thule (meaning, in this case, the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula). The Norwegians, according to Collinder, have always called them Finner, which is the same word, of course, as that given by the Swedes to the people of Finland—Finns. There is still, it seems, some obscurity about the history of the linguistic terms which in the various countries represent the Lapps, and some details about their racial origin are still in doubt. But all this gives an aura of romantic mystery to the otherwise factual story of these nomads, many of whom are no

longer nomads but settled farmers and fishermen.

The Scandinavians have, for obvious reasons, taken a special interest in the Lapps, their culture, and the relatively vast territory over which they roam. Recently, in Sweden, for example, this interest has become manifest through the publication there of two popular but valuable, intimate studies of Lapland. They were being prepared and published in Swedish about the same time as Collinder's work in English, and since the reviewer happens to have read them he cannot refrain from mentioning them in passing. One, by Ernst Manker, appeared in Stockholm, 1948, and is an uncommonly original travel sketch of modern Lapland. It is called Markens Gudar and is a 225-page volume of impressive and beautifully illustrated "Lappmarksepisoder." Equally fascinating but more scientific, with a surprisingly large amount of apparently little-known first-hand information about the nomad lands, is Lappland (Stockholm, 1949), written by the noted author and critic Sten Selander, who recently, at Uppsala, just for the joy of it, defended a doctor's thesis on his old hobby, botany. His Labbland has a special chapter on the Alpine flora of "sydvästra Lule lappmark." This volume, too, is illustrated and contains 159 pages. Naturally, both volumes appeared too late to be included in Collinder's bibliography, had he desired to list them.

But what we needed on the subject in America was a book in English, and this requirement has been successfully met by *The Lapps*, the author of which is Professor of Finno-Ugric Languages at the University of Uppsala. It seems to be, as alleged,

the first general book in English on the nomads of Scandinavia, since 1674, when Johannes Schefferus' The History of Lapland (Lapponia) was published at Oxford. It is a readable, attractive volume, scholarly, of course, and up-to-date, and though the modern era is emphasized, naturally, it is actually a history of the Lapps and their culture over a period of two millennia. Concentrated in form and professionally cautious in its conclusions, the reader receives the impression at the end that here, at last, we find as reliable information as is possible about the 33,000 people it describes. Here are chapters on the Lappish language and dialects, the race and national character of the Lapps, their clothing, food, dwellings, the different types of reindeer, and the wild-animal enemies of the latter. Strange bear-hunting ceremonials are revealed. Accounts of paganism and superstition, "shamanism and ecstasy," sacrifices, "prayers and spells" follow. The Lapps are now in a period of transition, and apparently, whether nomads or not, the Lapp women use Singer sewing machines.

The effect of civilization on this race is an exciting topic of study. Most of the Lapps are now bilingual and tolerably well educated. They have schools, churches, and dictionaries. The chapter on art, literature, and music will be a surprise to most readers. How many know of the Stallo legends? The first printed Lappish version of the New Testament was published in 1755. But "the lyrical poetry of the Lapps has been known in many countries for 275 years," mostly through the efforts of Schefferus and Johan Gottlieb Herder. Collinder points out that the "Lapps were introduced in the universal history of literature earlier than the Swedes," and if we disregard St. Birgitta's Revelations (printed in Latin, 1492), he is correct. Incidentally, the Lapps are the world's best instructors in reindeer breeding. A group of them was brought to Alaska from Norway in 1894 to teach the Eskimos how to raise reindeer. Today, says Collinder, there are probably more reindeer in Alaska than in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. For names of Lapp writers (like Johan Turi) and other notables, see the book-which, by the way, has a couple of good maps and a very good index.

As an American footnote to Collinder's bibliography of works

on the subject in English, the reviewer would add Northern Travel, 1858, by the poet, translator, and statesman Bayard Taylor—the first American editor of Frithiofs saga—who during the winter of 1857–1858 traveled 500 miles within the Arctic circle of Scandinavia, half of which journey was made in a pulka behind a reindeer; and Lapland Legends, for younger readers, published by the Yale University Press, 1926. Even Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, made references to Lapland magic in his Cases of Conscience, 1693.

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Natan Lindqvist, Sydväst-Sverige i språkgeografisk belysning. 1. Text. 2. Kartor (Skrifter utgivna genom Landsmålsarkivet i Lund. 2.). Lund, 1947. Pp. 76 plus 125 maps.

Published with the aid of grants from Humanistiska fonden and Längmanska kulturfonden, the present work is a linguistic atlas by the Professor of Swedish (now Emeritus) at the University of Uppsala, intended to cast light on problems in Swedish-language research, especially word geography. The language charts are accompanied by a commentary which discusses dialect boundaries, the paths by which linguistic patterns are spread, and the effect of geography on the character and origin of linguistic changes, by which term Professor Lindqvist here means transformations in the forms and meanings of individual words. The investigation seeks primarily to provide a cartographical register of a number of representative language elements-"ordförråd, ordformer och betydelser"-common to South and West Sweden but chiefly lacking in the north-easterly dialects. The publication rests on archive material available at Lund and Uppsala; on special monographs and collections; on answers to lists of questions sent out into the country districts and even to Norway and Denmark, and gathered by a large number of private individuals in 16 Swedish provinces, to which collectors the author makes acknowledgement, district by district. The initial labors on the atlas were undertaken during the years (1932-37) immediately preceding L.'s removal from Lund; they were completed by further research at the Dialect Research Institute, Uppsala. In his introduction the author accounts for various limitations and minor imperfections from which he feels his work has suffered.

The maps are not indexed; there is, however, an index to the approximately 275 words whose varying phonetic forms are localized on them. The words selected for exemplification are chiefly nouns, with a certain percentage of verbs and an occasional adjective. The typical line of demarcation for large numbers of words was found to run diagonally from south-east to north-west; the higher a word lies in the S.E., the higher is its upper boundary in the N.W. Citing the researches of Sigurd Erixon and others into Swedish cultural phenomena, L. shows correspondence with linguistic phenomena as regards a definite S.W.-N.E. tension and contrast, that is to say, characteristic differences as between the two general areas demarcated by the diagonal S.E. to N.W. line. Interesting is the observation (p. 39) that this differentiation existed as early as the Stone Age. Lines of communication, the water-courses above all (cf. especially maps No. 97a, 309), have been the decisive factors; political, administrative, and ecclesiastical boundaries have had small significance. During the Middle Ages the Swedish system of roads was considerably augmented, adding to the possibilities for linguistic (and cultural) spread in new directions, such as due north and south (Växjö-Eksjö-Linköping). Especially prominent are influences from Västergötland into Småland as well as into Halland. From S.W. Östergötland linguistic phenomena have spread "dels norrut till Motala-trakten, dels utefter Svartan till Roxen (Linköpingstrakten) Den vanligaste spridningsvägen genom Östergötland är Eriksgatan över Norrköping upp i Sörmland till Nyköping och vidare norrut.... Nästa stora nordliga spridningsstråk följer Eriksgatan från Västergötland in i Närke mot Västmanland och västra Uppland" (pp. 46-48). Unlike Lake Vätter, Lake Väner has largely "förmedlat språkgods till motsatta stranden" (p. 50). The word-geographical connection between N. W. Skåne and bordering provinces to the north is especially clear on the maps. Less adequately portrayed on the maps is Professor Lindqvist's conclusion (p. 60) that certain categories of words are more inclined to spread than others, words belonging, for example, to industry, the trades, commerce, and animal husbandry. The trade in cattle for slaughter or breeding purposes and the *in natura* taxes, often brought from long distances to the Crown estates, afford an ob-

vious explanation for the mobility of such terms.

The maps are numbered, not consecutively, but as they appear in the dialect archives at Lund from which they constitute excerpts. In many cases they register phonological variations in dialect words and such transformations of an entry as contaminations and other derailments. The stress has been placed on word geography, however, and phonological deviations have been given only incidental notice. Nor has any attempt been made to indicate the absolute or relative frequency of a given word. Etymological spelling prevails in most instances. Gender is indicated only when known to vary from that of modern usage or of Old Swedish. Corrections and additions to the maps, resting chiefly on material made available after the matrices were prepared, occupy approximately 6 pages of text.

The reviewer has failed to note inconsistencies not implicit in the nature of the work. Solution to a host of problems which Professor Lindqvist's study illustrates depends upon the results of the special investigations which it is certain to stimulate. Within the strict, selective limits imposed upon it by the author, the work under review is a positive, competent addition to our understanding of Swedish dialect geography. It corroborates phenomena paralleled by other aspects of Swedish culture and is itself sufficiently perspicuous to permit cultural geographers

to consult it with profit.

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Eklund, Torsten. Tjänstekvinnans son: En psykologisk Strindbergstudie. Bonniers, Stockholm, 1948. Pp. 454. Price, 18 crowns.

Literary critics such as John Landquist, Martin Lamm, and Walter A. Berendsohn have achieved international recognition because of their Strindberg research, and now Torsten Eklund, secretary of the Strindberg Society, must be added to the list of outstanding Strindberg scholars because of his noteworthy and permanent contribution in the work being reviewed.

The study is based principally on the psychological theory and practices of Alfred Adler and his school, "for surely," Eklund says, "they apply exceptionally well to the type of human beings to which Strindberg belongs." Strindberg applied the theory in a striking manner to himself. Tjänstekvinnans son, Eklund says, "is simply a self-analysis after the manner of the 'Individual Psychology,' introduced several decades prior to Adler's development of his technique." "Strindberg, furthermore, developed during the eighties a notion of the significance of the struggle for power and superiority in human relations, a conception which already at that time contained the essential views of the 'Individual Psychology.'" As Eklund says, there is only one side of Strindberg the man that can be seen from outside such a visual angle—an essential side which has been inadequately observed and treated.

After having pointed out the necessity of making a few reservations, he continues, "Strindberg was without a doubt one of the greatest egocentrics known in literature. His associations with others unfailingly led to friction because of his sense of insecurity, suspicion, and egotistic attitude." Generally speaking, he thrived best in the company of children and humble, ordinary people, because in their presence, his inferiority complex was not brought into action. Real rest and relaxation he found only in nature. On the other hand, he was no recluse fleeing the world: in many respects he was a sound, sturdy, realistic being with a burning desire to delve into practical life. He possessed unusually keen powers of observation and a phenomenal knowledge of the world about him. The author stresses the fact that this natural endowment of observation never failed him. not even during his periods of mental crises when he was beset by the most violent emotions and confused mental images. And even if Strindberg's thoughts revolved primarily about himself, he was, nevertheless, frequently capable of a gentle, personal concern for others. He was a virtuoso in his sufferings, with a decided tendency towards the infernal, and a martyr to his

fantasies and his over-sensitive nerves; but he enjoyed, even in his old age, an unimpaired appetite for life and its pleasures. He was capable of getting into a state of ecstasy at the sight of a good "smörgåsbord" or a beautiful view in nature. He could feel and take pleasure in intercourse with his fellow men, when their number was limited. He experienced, according to Eklund, "a billowing feeling of happiness while writing, even when he depicted more or less unpleasant phases of life." The author of Giftas and Hemsöborna was no stranger to the joys of existence.

"If," says Eklund, "we penetrate sufficiently far back into the history of Strindberg's life, we shall find that the urge for self-assertion, which as the years passed, took on so many offensive aspects, was essentially a desperate attempt to overcome the feeling of insecurity from which he never was able to free himself." Strindberg, without a doubt, exhibits symptoms of a neurotic character formation. Furthermore, as Eklund points out, according to the psychology of our time, the neurotic or hysteric character is a human being who has been tied up with infantile experiences. That means that the normal adjustments to the environment have in some way or other miscarried during the early existence of the individual. This is applicable in a very high degree to Strindberg, who as a consequence, and for many other reasons, no doubt, never succeeded in severing the umbilical cord that bound him-according to the Freudian theory-to his mother. Even in his old age he kept brooding over humiliations and acts of injustice that he thought he had experienced in his childhood. But these seemingly trifling incidents were, in Eklund's sound psychological judgment, to Strindberg "det blodigaste allvar." Around them as a nucleus, Strindberg's later experiences were grouped, and every new situation which recalled his childhood meant to him a ripping-open of old wounds. Eklund closes his introduction by saying that any attempt to explain in detail Strindberg's character inevitably leads back to his childhood impressions.

In the two opening chapters the reader meets and journeys with the child through his adolescence to manhood—this man in the making who may well be characterized as an aggregate of all the incompatible complexes known to the psychological

sciences. In and out of the family atmosphere, in school, in college, and at the university—everywhere he failed to effect even tolerable adjustments. The present work sheds a great deal of new light on these most important periods in Strindberg's life in that it interprets in incredible detail his attempts at adjustment to his environment, all of which failed because of his innate instability.

Religiously inclined from childhood, he became in due time an atheist and a blasphemer. Politically he turned out to be a tantalizing turncoat whom the several parties looked down upon with suspicion and contempt; and socially he was feared and despised because of his attitude towards the feministic reform movement.

As indicated by Eklund, Strindberg gave no evidence of artistic or literary endowments in his youth. He was an average student in the grades, in college, and at the university. For an account of the many activities engaged in by young Strindberg before and after his period of maturity, his economic embarrassments, the sudden inception of his literary career, and his successes and reverses in that field, see Chapter 2.

In Chapter 3, "Kvinnan och äktenskapet" (pp. 109-172), the study sets forth the Strindbergian manner of approaching woman in general, i.e., by trying to arouse her motherly instincts and feelings. "In the last analysis," this was, according to Eklund, "an infantile attitude towards his own mother." Psychoanalytically speaking, it was an act of regression. Dr. Eklund states (p. 134) that it was Sigmund Freud "who directed our attention to the inescapable psychic phenomenon, previously relatively unknown." Regression, in the Freudian sense, indicates a longing (on the part of the male child) to be reunited with the mother. Eklund indicates that Strindberg here "as in so many other instances, offers a certain support of the psychoanalytic theory," and refers to En dares försvarstal (pp. 206 ff.). As an Adlerian, Eklund reacts unfavorably to the theory in question. "Even if." he writes, "we admit that psychoanalysis has shed light on the mother-complex and its ramifications in the case of Strindberg, we must reject the interpretation of these phenomena as results of incestuous inclinations. Reduced to correct

proportions, 'fixation on the mother' is not incompatible with any psychological consideration whatsoever." Regression is, the author maintains, a generally accepted human phenomenon which exists also in the female. For Eklund it is easy to explain why a human being should long to return from life's conflicts to a state of happiness such as he once enjoyed when cared for and protected by the mother. "It is natural," he argues, "for a man to try to realize through his beloved spouse this longing-back to childhood, and to find in her a substitute for the motherly tenderness once enjoyed, and 'to experience anew the golden days of childhood,'" as Strindberg put it. To Eklund, however, such a fixation on the mother is a symptom rather than a result, and is met with in its most extreme form in the hypersensitive neurotic who experiences an unbearable conflict between his own helplessness and the demands of reality.

The reaction to the above views by some analysts would be that Strindberg's character was predetermined in the very act of his conception, and that he was born to be exactly what he became and continued to be all his life. Environment, in the widest sense of the term, and organic inferiority could at most be rated as contributory causes in the formation of a human being of Strindberg's type. His peculiar reactions to life must inevitably be sought in his own physical self. He was abnormal, to judge by certain characteristics. It has been hinted that he had too many female elements in his make-up. Witness the following manifestations enumerated by Eklund (p. 110): Abnormal shyness, sensitiveness, lachrymosity, need of being cuddled, and physical fear. To these traits correspond strikingly feminine characteristics such as his bushy hair, enveloping a relatively small cranium; his protruding, puckered mouth; his small hands and feet, and his tripping gait; his love of children and flowers; and his pronounced interest in matters pertaining to domestic life.

Chapter 4 (pp. 172 ff.) deals in great detail with Strindberg's mental disturbances from the earliest occurrence up to and through the so-called Inferno Crisis. Numerous psychiatrists have analyzed his mental condition from time to time. William Hirsch diagnosed his status as "Eifersuchtswahn" and typical

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paranoia. Marcel Réja, who associated with Strindberg during the crisis mentioned above, attributed his mental disorder to excessive use of alcohol. Dr. Rahmer thought he suffered from melancholia moralis. Later, his case was diagnosed as schizophrenia. Karl Jaspers wrote an extensive pathographical analysis about his affliction, entitled Strindberg und van Gogh (Leipzig, 1922). His findings were rejected, however, by other analysts on the ground of untenable premises, due in part to the fact that he based his work on secondary sources; see Eklund (pp. 173 ff.). According to Dr. Lagriffe, Strindberg never was, in the real sense of the term, mentally unbalanced.

All of the six chapters (Chapter 5, "Världsbild och personlighet"; Chapter 6, "Självanalys och människokunskap") and the appendix are exceedingly important. Lack of space makes it impossible to review in detail even the most significant contributions that Eklund has made to our understanding of Strindberg and his works. Every serious student of Strindberg will need to study and consider Eklund's book.

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Strandwold, Olaf. Norse Inscriptions on American Stones. Collected and Deciphered by Olaf Strandwold. Published by Magnus Björndal, Weehauken, N. J., 1948. Pp. 1-69. Lithoprinted. \$1.00.

One of the most remarkable works ever to appear as the fruit of philological zeal is Olaf Strandwold's monograph on alleged Scandinavian epigraphy in North America. In a small volume replete with photographs and drawings, including those of two dozen asserted runic inscriptions on this continent, the author manages to convince both himself and his well-meaning sponsor that he has uncovered startling new sources of American history. From the widely publicized Kensington hoax (not yet recognized as such by the officials of the Smithsonian Institution) to the stone tower at Newport, and from the latter to the mammoth Indian mound at Moundsville, West Virginia, runologist Strandwold follows a trail of "viking" hieroglyphics which takes him through Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Maine,

and as far as Ontario and Nova Scotia. To interpret these "runic" data, he twists the characters, reading them forward or backward as desired, combining ad libitum runic signs from different periods and different parts of Scandinavia, reading the runes within one and the same inscription now as "stung" and now as ordinary characters, and on the whole, shuffling and reshuffling the inscriptions until they yield a "meaning"—any meaning whatever.

The existence of an occasional authentic runic inscription in eastern North America is not a priori an impossibility. But if one points out that the earliest of Strandwold's runic messages is dated by him as about 100 A.D.; that the Moundsville tumulus is probably twice as large as any one of "Sweden's pyramids" at Gamla Uppsala and hence not conceivably the work of isolated Northmen; and that the author's interpretations are almost uniformly so inapplicable as to be utterly absurd on the face of them, it seems clear that Mr. Strandwold, eager to find modern application for ancient lore, has been sadly taken in by Indian carvings and chance scratches on stones in a score of places and thus induced to compile a monument of misapplied lithography.

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Franklin D. Scott, *The United States and Scandinavia*. Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii, 359, 2 maps, \$4.00.

To begin with, there is an Introduction by Sumner Welles stating that "Scandinavian Social Democracy offers a comforting proof that men occasionally can govern themselves wisely and well" and that "intimate cooperation" and the "firmest kind of an understanding" between Scandinavia and the United States have now become "imperative." Then follows a Foreword by Lithgow Osborne, which confidently maintains that the real importance of the Scandinavian countries is that they exist and "are doing a competent job of making the principles work by which we also profess to live" and then hopefully claims that the Scandinavians are "unafraid, prepared to work with us for a

peaceful world or to go down fighting for their own ideals, which are also ours." Next comes a Preface by the author, announcing that this is essentially "a description of the Scandinavian countries and an explanation of their problems, particularly in their relations with the United States." Finally, after another half-title, the book itself gets under way with a chapter called "An Introduction to Lands and Peoples!"

Despite such a long wind-up, the Harvard Press has scored again in this excellent study of a part of the world no longer on the periphery of conflict but in the dead center.

In two long but comprehensive chapters called "Functioning Social Democracy" and "Twentieth Century Economy," Dr. Scott summarizes governmental structure, cooperatives, planned security, child welfare, housing, labor, liquor, education, economic planning and "What Is the Middle Way?" Although all this may have little direct bearing on the United States and Scandinavia, it is clearly necessary background material for those who would have a full understanding of the people they are dealing with, a people which tries "to keep society subordinate to the person," which indulges in "no mystical worship of the state," which believes that "government, the economic order, education, all are means to an end, not ends in themselves."

After a quick excursion into geography and history the reader is led through three tightly written chapters on "Neutrality: Tradition, Policy, and Practice (to 1939)"; "World War II, Scandinavia Rent Asunder"; and "The Search for Security." They present one of the best studies of the basis for Scandinavian policy through the years that is available in English. Particularly good is Professor Scott's discriminating account of the varying roles played by the five Northern countries in the recent war.

Of them he writes in summary, "Denmark was a peaceful battlefield, with people smiling by day and fighting by night.... When the Germans collapsed in May 1945, the Danes knew that they too had played a part in the Liberation." "It was both a miracle and a tribute to her stubborn strength that [Finland] survived as a nation." "Iceland essentially felt the war indirectly rather than directly, and through an artificial prosperity rather

than through destruction." "The tragedy of Norway was the unpreparedness of the rightminded"—a striking phrase indeed. Norway's triumph, on the other hand, Scott finds in the lines of Överland:

Farmer and working lad, they fought, A few men here and there Against machines and iron tanks And legions of the air.
They fight until they fall Knowing a broken will Means life without meaning And the end of all.

"Swedish neutrality, as a policy, favored neither Germany nor Britain, it aimed solely at the best interests of Sweden. Concern was more for the immediate present than for the future, uncertain at best. Appeasement there was in external action, much of it, but not in internal opinion. The Swedes had no intention to follow in the wake of any great power, and no intention to compromise their own well-founded democracy."

In turning to the problems of today and the more immediate future, the author gives a cool, factual summary of the unsuccessful negotiations for an all-Scandinavian participation in the North Atlantic Pact. This is a welcome section in that it points up the divisions within the family and will serve to remind readers who are too prone to think of the areas as a unit that "each member-nationality in the family group has an individuality to maintain," a fact too often lost sight of by the block thinkers.

A few minor slips, such as John Hanson's precise title, the non-existent Fulbright program in Denmark, a transportation line that does not run, fail to mar an otherwise outstanding volume which ends with the consoling fact that "The United States and Scandinavia stand on a firm foundation of friendship and fundamental common interest."

MARSHALL W. S. SWAN Washington, D. C.

Swedish Songs and Ballads. Bonniers, New York, 1950. Pp. 52. \$1.00.

Professor Martin S. Allwood presents, in a small attractive volume, the translations of thirty-seven highly popular Swedish songs, the music for each of them, and the first stanzas of most of the Swedish originals. Ranging from Bishop Thomas' "Frihetssången" to Evert Taube's "Fritjof och Carmencita," the selection is representative enough to give Americans a fairly good idea of the rich song literature that Sweden has.

The translations, which were done by various people, differ in quality. Some of them, such as that of Bellman's "Fjäriln vingad syns på Haga," are happily done:

> Through the mist o'er Haga winging Dimly flits the butterfly, Then in leafy shelter clinging On a flower couch he'll lie. Through the fen new life is stirring, Wakened by the sun's first ray; Tiny mites in dance are whirring In the warming Zephyr's play.

"Yes, may he prosper" may not strike many Swedish ears as a happy rendering of "Ja, må han leva."

For teachers of Swedish who believe that singing Swedish songs is one approach to learning Swedish, this book will be very useful. Supplemented with mimeographed copies of all of the Swedish originals, this book can eliminate the need for spending much time on translation. Its wide circulation and use deserve recommendation because of the music, the adequate translations, the brief introductory note by Prince Wilhelm, and the preface by Professor Allwood and his colleague, Lindsay Lafford.

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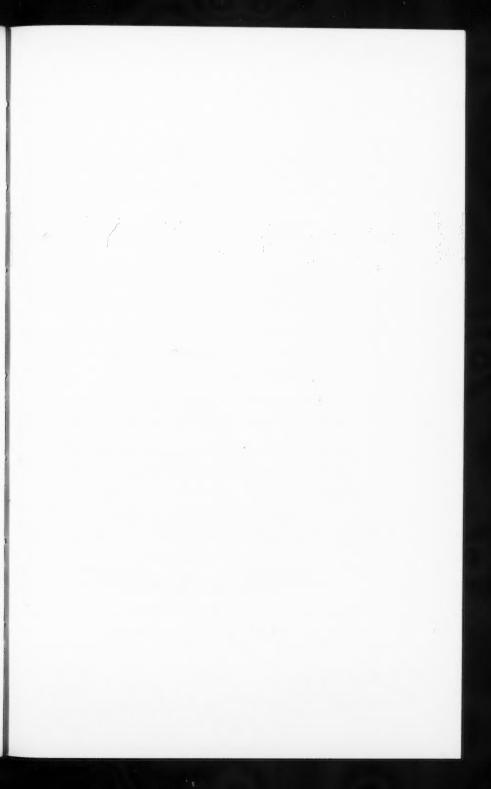
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